LIBERIA.

A republic founded by black men, reared by black men, maintained by black men, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects.—HENRY CLAY.

BULLETIN No. 2. **FEBRUARY, 1893.**

—ISSUED BY THE—

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

LIBERIA.

BULLETIN No. 2. FEBRUARY, 1893.

THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT.

NECROLOGY.

Mr. WILLIAM COPPINGER, the well-known Secretary of the American Colonization Society, after a brief illness, died on the 9th of February, 1892. He was born in London, England, March 18, 1828, and came to this country when a young child.

He entered the office of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society in 1838, when only ten years of age, and continued in that office until 1864. He was then appointed Secretary of the American Colonization Society, and filled this office until his death. His whole active life of fifty-four years was thus devoted to African Colonization.

Immediately following his death both Societies with which he had been so prominently indentified adopted resolutions expressing the highest appreciation of his great services, and sincere and profound personal grief at his loss. Minutes of these proceedings were duly recorded in the permanent records of the respective Societies.

He rests from his labors of a long life devoted to a great and noble cause with a consecration to which a parallel will rarely be found. His works are his fitting monument, and his virtues will long be cherished in the hearts of the race to whom he devoted his life.

PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, AND TREASURER.

The Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, D. D., of New York, elected President of the Society at its last annual meeting, was not present at the time, and for some months ensuing

was absent in Europe. Soon after his return he visited Washington and held conferences with the Executive Committee, and at once commenced giving practical attention to the duties of his office.

On the death of Mr. Coppinger, who was both Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, Mr. Reginald Fendall, a member of the Executive Committee, was appointed Acting Treasurer, and Mr. J. Ormond Wilson, also a member of the Executive Committee, was appointed acting Secretary, and these gentleman have performed the duties of their respective offices through the unexpired term of the late Secretary and Treasurer.

EMIGRATION.

During the past year the Colonization Society has sent fifty emigrants to Liberia. They sailed in the bark *Liberia* from the port of New York March 10, had a comfortable and pleasant voyage, and arrived at Monrovia April 7. At the same time the Rev. E. E. Smith, of Goldsboro, N. C., who was favorably known through valuable services rendered to the Society while United States Minister to Liberia under the administration of President Cleveland, and on other occasions, was sent out to take charge of the emigrants on their arrival at Monrovia and see that they were properly located. Many complaints in regard to the manner in which these duties had been discharged by the former agent had of late reached the Executive Committee. Mr. Smith was instructed also to investigate the condition of parties of emigrants sent out previously, and other matters of interest to the Society, and to make a written report. He did so, and his report containing much valuable information was published in Bulletin No. 1, issued in November last.

After an inspection of proposed sites by our agent and the emigrants themselves, an elevated region was selected near one of the branches of the Montserado river, on the outer borders of a settlement named Johnsonville, and about twenty miles east from Monrovia. The land was surveyed

and allotted to the several emigrants with all possible dispatch, and Mr. Smith reports as follows :

"Mr. David Rivers, one of said emigrants, moved into his own frame house July 13th, just three months and six days after his arrival in the country, or one month and fifteen days after receiving the certificate giving the boundary of his land. Up to the 10th of August, two days before I left Liberia, Mr. Rivers had planted out on his own land more than five thousand coffee scions, also quantities of other produce, and a considerable amount of vegetables of different kinds.

"Mr. Spencer Day and others of the same party have since moved into their own houses, and are earnestly pushing forward and industriously clearing their land and putting out coffees, which if not the only, is certainly the principal, product of the country from which farmers realize money."

In reference to the settlements of future parties of emigrants Mr. Smith says :

"The time has come, I think, however, when a beginning should be made to push outward, interiorward with the settlements of the country. While some little more of expense may be incurred in settling emigrants at a distance from the streams, it will be the means of opening up roads, building bridges, and thereby will invite trade from finding its way elsewhere. Again, such beautiful, rolling sections of country as are to be seen out beyond Arthington are far more desirable to settle in than portions of the tide-water country. The water is pure and cool, the air is less humid, less enervating ; and I think the section is in every way more salubrious.

"I would not be understood to mean that a party of emigrants should be isolated by being located at an inconvenient distance from other settlements, but I do mean that I think the settling of emigrants should tend interiorward. Let the settlements be contiguous, but interiorward."

Mr. Benjamin Anderson & Son, the Liberian surveyors, who assisted Mr. Smith in locating the last party of emigrants, say :

"The next party of emigrants, if located here, will have to be placed further out, but in such vicinity as to give the touching hand to their neighbors. It is thought prudent

not to crowd them too close together, but to give them ample room, so that they may be helpful, assisting, and conveniently at hand to each other for all emergencies. The planting of far-off and isolated settlements of emigrants can not be recommended.

"It is greatly to be desired that the Government itself shall take a more active part in the survey of public lands for emigrants It would be well if, upon being advised of the coming of emigrants, certain tracts of land should be assigned and laid out before their arrival, so as to enable them to enter on their possessions immediately after their arrival. Mr. Witherspoon, in view of thus facilitating the entry of emigrants on their lands, recommends this plan, and in view of future operations has selected a sight in every way suitable for the purpose; a place finely watered and heavily timbered."

Hereafter the Society will see to it that emigrants going out under its auspices are located on the higher lands back from the coast, and on the outer verge of present settlements.

The following extract from Mr. Smith's report is significant:

"Emigrants are beginning to make their way to Liberia *via* Liverpool. Since April last emigrants from the United States have arrived in Liberia, at their own expense, at four different times. The first consisted of a man and wife and five children, who came in April; the second, a single man, who came in May; the third, of a man and wife and six children, who came in July; and last, a single man came also in July—making, in the last five months, a total of seventeen emigrants who paid their own expenses from the United States, by the way of Liverpool, to Liberia. The Government gives them land and allowances, such as are given to those sent by the Society."

The route from New York to Liberia by way of Liverpool is nearly twice the length of a direct one, and involves a reshipment at the intermediate port. The time and expense, therefore, being nearly twice as great as they would be by a direct route, are a great obstacle to emigration at present.

It is believed that the flow of emigration, independent of any pecuniary assistance from the Society or otherwise, will

continuously increase in volume and eventually, when a direct line of steam communication is opened, will become the most potent factor in the upbuilding of Liberia and the civilization of Africa.

The American Colonization Society was organized seventy-six years ago, and four years thereafter sent out its first party of colonists; each year since it has sent out emigrants to Liberia. Those reported for the past year make a total of 16,413, exclusive of 5,722 recaptured Africans which it enabled the Government of the United States to settle in Liberia, or a grand total of 22,135 persons whom the Society has assisted in finding homes in Liberia.

APPLICATIONS.

Although during the past year the policy of the Society has been to discourage applications for aid in emigrating to Liberia the number of persons applying has been increasing rather than diminishing. These applications come from persons in many of the States, north as well as south, are usually very pressing and oft-repeated, and at this time number many thousands. It is not doubted that many of these would better the condition of themselves and their children and benefit Liberia by making their homes there. But the present means of the Society do not enable it to extend a helping hand to more than a small number of the applicants whom it considers really worthy of its assistance.

AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

The publication of the *African Repository* as an organ of the American Colonization Society was commenced in 1825, and for a series of years it was issued as a monthly, and subsequently as a quarterly magazine, with a large paying list of subscribers. The proceeds were appropriated to the special work for which the Society was founded. At that earlier period of the Society's existence Africa was indeed but little known to the civilized world, the general press was quite limited in its scope, and the necessity of a special organ to inform the public of the Society's purposes and work was quite evident. These conditions had been greatly

changed in the lapse of time. Africa had been largely explored, and books, magazines, and newspapers had been greatly multiplied and filled with African information and news, and thus had lessened the demand for the *Repository*, until it had ceased to bring to the Society any pecuniary return. It was deemed best therefore to substitute for it publications of an occasional character, and accordingly the first bulletin of information was issued in November last. The publication of these bulletins will be continued from time to time as circumstances may require.

FUTURE POLICY OF THE SOCIETY.

The American Colonization Society, after reviewing its past history and considering its present resources and environment, and looking to the promotion of the best interests of Liberia, proposes a line of work for the future, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Colonists hereafter to be selected with special reference to the needs of Liberia, and to be located there with more care and to better advantage to themselves.

2. Funds held in trust for education to be applied in ways to aid and stimulate the Liberian Government to more energetic action in establishing and fostering an efficient system of public schools, rather than in merely supporting independent schools.

3. The Society to make a special effort to collect and diffuse more full and reliable information about Liberia, and as a bureau of information to make itself practically useful both to Liberia and the Negroes in the United States desiring to emigrate there.

4. The Society to promote in every possible way the establishing of more direct, frequent, and quicker communication between the United States and Liberia.

5. The chief end of the work of the Society to be in the line of enabling and stimulating Liberia to depend less and less upon others, and more and more upon herself.

LIBERIA.

The present administration of the government of Liberia is reported to be highly satisfactory to the citizens of that Republic. At the head of it is President Joseph James Cheeseman, who was born and educated in the country, and who by his excellent character, intelligence, and energy had achieved eminent success as a private citizen. The members of his cabinet in their several departments are all men of high character and good executive ability.

It is now more than forty-five years since Liberia assumed the position of an independent Republic. During that period she has exercised the functions of a National Government, having executive, legislative, and judicial departments, keeping peace and order within her own borders, collecting and disbursing revenues, holding diplomatic intercourse with other nations, and establishing a system of common schools. In response to the will of her people as expressed by their suffrages, twenty-three administrations have succeeded one another in the peaceful and orderly manner prescribed by her written constitution. It is not claimed that all this has been done with the most advanced intelligence and a high degree of efficiency, but when we reflect that it has been accomplished by about 16,000 colonists from the United States, who back of them had only the heredity of thousands of years of a low state of barbarism, and that civilization and education which the condition of slavery as it existed in our country gave them ; who carried with them little beside illiteracy, poverty, and the habit of dependence ; who were planted in an isolated position on the far-off coast of a wild and savage continent, in a territory already occupied by from one to two millions of native Africans, we are compelled to acknowledge that the record is highly creditable, and especially so when compared with that of many of the central and South American States during the same period.

As we look over the latest map of the great continent of Africa and see the European protectorates already covering

the larger part of its area, whose inspiring motives are commercial greed, and whose traffic with the natives is so largely demoralizing and destructive, it is with increased satisfaction that we turn to the little Republic on its western coast "founded by black men, reared by black men, and maintained by black men," and our deepest interest, our warmest sympathies, and our brightest hopes center in Liberia—Liberia for the sake of herself, Liberia for the sake of Africa, Liberia for the sake of the Negro race.

AGRICULTURE IN CONGO.

We are glad to note that a Society has been formed in Belgium to promote the cultivation of land in the Congo State.

No country will advance to a high state of civilization which depends for its prosperity on its natural products alone. There seems to be a divinely ordained connection between cultivation of the land and cultivation in society. Agriculture is the basis of civilization. The Belgium Society has sent out two men to inaugurate agricultural operations in the Congo State on a large scale. It is not a part of our mission work to devote much attention to material interests; but if the people of the Congo can be induced to engage in farming on improved methods, it may be expected to aid in the advancement of Christianity by leading the people into more orderly and decent habits of living.—*The Baptist Missionary.*

A NAVY FOR LIBERIA.

The Independent State of Liberia having decided upon possessing a navy of its own, the first war vessel for that country, the steel cruiser Gorronommah was successfully launched recently by Messrs. M'Ilwaine & M'Call, at Belfast. The new vessel, which is 95 feet long and has an admiralty displacement of 150 tons, will be armed fore and aft with Nordenfelt and quick-firing machine guns. She will be stationed at Monrovia.—*The African Times*, Jan. 2, 1893.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS BY THE REV. BYRON SUNDERLAND, D. D.

Friends of the American Colonization Society:

On this seventy-sixth annual meeting of the American Colonization Society I have the honor to be designated by my associates on the Executive Committee to welcome you all most heartily to this place of meeting and to congratulate you on the prospects of a new departure in the operations of the Society for the upbuilding of the Republic of Liberia, and extending its influence for good upon the "dark continent."

Three-quarters of a century have passed away since our Society was organized in a vastly different environment from that which surrounds us to-day. At the first it was looked upon with suspicion and distrust by both whites and blacks in this country, and there were but few of that generation who foresaw the importance of its movements or the beneficence of its design. The general sentiment of that day was tersely expressed in the prayer of Uncle Snowden, a colored preacher of Boston—"Oh, Lord, we pray Thee that the seven-headed and ten-horned monster, the Colonization Society, may be smitten through and through with the fiery darts of truth, and tormented like the whale between the sword-fish and the thrasher!"

Since then, however, the most radical and far-reaching changes have transpired. The fires of a great Civil War have purified the Nation and consolidated our great Republic on the foundation of universal human liberty. Emancipation has come, and the eyes of the world are turned on Africa as the future field of exploration, conquest, commerce, and christian civilization. Through all this the "ten-horned monster" still survives and is ready to bear its part in establishing on that long sealed and long despoiled continent the institutions of civic and religious liberty, the blessings of enlightened government, and the crowning security of a pure christianity.

It is to this great work that the Society will dedicate its future efforts in such ways as may be deemed most feasible and best calculated to supplant the ancient barbarism by the superior influence of a christian civilization, and to open a pathway of colonization for the large numbers of the colored people in our country whose eyes in vast numbers are turning to the land of their fathers as the proper home of the black man and the destined theatre of his greatest achievements.

"The good will be felt by the Africans who go and by the Africans who remain by Africa and by America."—Daniel Webster.

SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF LIBERIA.

The recent negotiations between the Government of France and the Republic of Liberia have at last settled their boundary lines, and will bring about a slight change in our maps of Africa.

The river San Pedro ceases to be the dividing line between the French colony of the Ivory Coast and the territory belonging to the Republic of Liberia. The Cavally river takes its place. In exchange for this concession France renounces any rights accruing to her from ancient treaties, through which she would have the power to occupy eventually certain points or places in the grain country. The Republic, from hence her own arbiter, will take advantage of this concession, and allow herself the luxury which some of the other States have not, owing to the refusal of their Governments, of a man-of-war stationed at Monrovia.

This will not be an armed ship of the first-class, to be sure, as it will only be 95 feet long and its capacity 150 tons. It will serve, however, to show the desire of the black Republic to do honor to the position which it holds among the African States. The importance of a public spirit of this kind heretofore had not seemed to interest her greatly.—"*Le Mouvement Antiesclavagiste*," *Jan. 25, 1893.*

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT POTTER.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

There are in nature certain forms of life which, after having done their work, are superseded and disappear. The organism is outgrown or outworn, and having performed its appropriate function, something else supervenes and displaces it. The old mechanism has fulfilled its end, and to undertake to maintain it any longer would be to feed the shell of the chrysalis after it has become a butterfly. This is as true of institutions as of any other organisms, and it is because we can not recognize it to be true—so there are many excellent people who would tell us—that you and I are here to-night.

In other words, there are a great many people, and some of them people of large observation and excellent judgment, who are quite sure that the Society whose summons brings us together this evening is an anachronism. Once it had a place and a use. The institution of slavery prevailed over a large part of the land and held multitudes of people in a more or less unwilling bondage. And then there was a disposition on the part of one section of the Republic to redress, as far as it might, what it believed to be the wrongs of the Negro, and of another which believed that the Negro had suffered no wrong, to give him a better chance if he should prove himself worthy of it. These two considerations conspired with others to create and maintain the American Colonization Society.

"But we have changed all that"—or rather a Providential ordering, whether some of us desired it or not, has changed it for us—and to-day it is said of the American Colonization Society, and that sometimes by thoughtful and intelligent people, it has no longer any "*raison d'etre.*" Why seek to perpetuate a Society that is outlawed by time simply because it has venerable and honorable traditions? Said a friend to me not long ago: "You Colonization Society people, with your traditions of Mr. Madison and Mr. Clay and so on, and your pathetic talk about your past greatness,

remind me of those decayed families that are forever recalling their noble ancestors, and whose blood, run thin and well-nigh run out, has just enough fire left in it to dust the family portraits. Why don't you get yourselves decently buried, and so get out of the way of better men and better plans?"

Shall I confess it, ladies and gentlemen? I have sometimes been plagued with such thoughts myself! But I have reflected, as I venture this evening to ask you to do, that while the principle of development with its consequent principle of the progressive abandonment of inferior forms does indeed apply to institutions as well as to other organized modes of life, this also is forever true that in the highest forms of life, which are those illustrated in humanity, we observe traversing, so to speak, this law of evolution another law, which may be called the law of re-adjustment. And the operations of that law is the story of the race. Trace it from the beginning of history and you will see that everywhere that history is the record of the same powers, aptitudes, gifts—call them what you will—trained forever to new tasks and rising to new emergencies. And *that*, I maintain, is the noblest office of an institution as well as of a man. The savage man and the civilized man are one. They have the same hands and feet and eyes and brain. Yes, but the civilized man has put these instruments, step by step as he has climbed up out of barbarism into the enlightened state, to new and nobler uses, and so has greatened them and himself by their use.

It is to such a task, as I profoundly believe, ladies and gentlemen, that this Society is called to-day. The conditions which called it into being have indeed largely changed; but the race which it aimed to serve is yet with us, and the land which it sought to colonize—and this is the point which this evening I desire especially to press upon your attention—invites us as never before. Once Africa was from shore to shore a vast desert or a vast wilderness; a *terra incognita* which no civilized man had ever penetrated or could ever hope to. It had little or no interest or value in the sum of the world's commercial enterprise and even less as the field of a higher civilization.

From this point of view the story of the Republic of Liberia has indeed been pathetic, but its fondest advocate will not care, I think, to affirm that it has been always inspiring. I shall not attempt to rehearse that story here nor to use its leading incidents to point a moral which other friends of colonization are better able to emphasize than I. But this certainly the most modest critic may venture to affirm, that we have come to a point when it is plain on the one hand that the American Colonization Society requires considerable modifications of its past policy, and on the other, that if only it will consent to those modifications there is for it in the future a work no less noble, no less worthy of its best endeavors than any which it has done in its most prosperous days. The old methods *may* be outlawed by time. For one, I may as well say frankly I believe they are. The old theories may wisely be surrendered in the face of facts with which it is idle to attempt to reconcile them. But this venerable and honored mechanism, this national and well-tried institution, the American Colonization Society, has still, I believe, a work to do, and a most potent and far-reaching function to fulfill.

For the moment that we look across that sea which divides us from the Continent of Africa, we discover a situation which is at once largely novel and pre-eminently interesting. What was once the "Dark Continent" has already been touched and at least partially illumined by the light of the torch of the explorer. Speke, Livingstone, and Stanley, and others following in their footsteps, have forced open, if only a little way, the thick portal that shut away Africa from our knowledge, and to-day that mighty Continent is beginning to be recognized as mighty, not alone in the extent of its territory and in the length of its rivers and in the numbers of its native population, but no less mighty in those other possibilities which, through the agency of commerce and the arts and industries—in one word, what we mean by "civilization"—makes nations mighty in the parliaments of the world.

A very striking letter recounting the experiences of an officer of the French Navy, Lieutenant Mizon, who has

lately returned from an extended tour in Africa, and who has published in considerable detail the result of his observations, indicates how one at least of the foremost nations in Europe has recognized these facts, and the importance and, if no more, the commercial promise of the present situation. Says this letter, referring to the recent French and English discussions of Lieutenant Mizon's journey:

"The pretty controversy which his account of an undoubtedly difficult expedition has stirred up will at least serve to draw attention to the fact that a new continent has been opened to the commercial competition of Europe. It is no longer a question merely of adventurous exploration, as was the case in the expeditions of Barth and Livingstone, and also of Stanley, excepting, perhaps, his latest attempt at interfering with the commercial enterprise of Emin Pasha. Such expeditions have made the name and power of Europe familiar throughout the dark continent; and the missionaries, often the first in the field when they have not quarreled overmuch among themselves, have disposed the heathen heart to welcome the tradesman. But it is commerce alone that puts civilization in a lump, as it were, before the eyes of the astonished savage.

* * * * * *

"No one in his senses could for a moment suppose that the present scramble after all that is to be had in Africa is purely the result of disinterested religious zeal and patriotism. For that matter, patriotism, which has become another word for the advancement of the political interests of race and nationality, can be served in these African wilds only by opening them as new issues to European commerce. This distinguishes the present rivalry of England, France, and Germany in the newly explored parts of Africa from the contest for territorial possessions among England, France, and Spain in the early history of America. Nowadays each country contents itself with the modest demand of a "sphere of influence" or a protectorate over the uncivilized peoples it has discovered, with friendly treaties securing exclusive commercial privileges to itself and sufficient concessions of territory to its commercial companies. Where exclusive rights can not be pretended to, the demand is made of fair play for all, with equality of rights in regions to be recognized as neutral, and with free and independent navigation of great watercourses, no matter what the inhabitants of their banks may desire. These commercial exigencies

have dictated the latest expression of international law in regard to this last continent given to the nations of Europe to civilize and apportion among themselves."

Continues the same writer :

"The extraordinary measures taken by Captain Lugard in Uganda, in behalf of the English East African Company, would alone show the importance of the commercial interests at stake in the far interior of Africa. We turn easily the pages of early American history and marvel at the rapid advance of European enterprise in the New World then opened to it. Yet it is safe to say that mere trade has never made its way with the feverish speed with which it is now traversing what we called but yesterday the African deserts. The advantages of the nineteenth century—telegraphs, railways, steamships, and equipments for the inland journey—are responsible for this; and all the European nations, which need new outlets for their productions and fresh materials for their industries, see that their success in the field is a question of immediate and active enterprise. The Belgian Society of the Upper Congo, with whose trade in ivory the Congo Free State has already interfered, in a letter addressed to-day to Prime Minister Beernaert, asserts that the 'brutal closing' of its factories on the Oubanghi causes a loss of 200,000 francs a month. In the French colony of the Ivory Coast, the tonnage of commerce which in 1890 was already 20,000, has doubled in a single year.

"M. Tharel, the president of the syndicate of the Upper Benito, which is the chief backer of Lieutenant Mizon in his expedition, gave clear expression to French ideas on this subject in his speech at the official banquet with which the explorer was honored while in Paris. 'Everywhere the old issues are closed to our industries.' Neighboring nations are sufficient to themselves ; they strive victoriously against us in the markets of the East. The two Americas no longer ask our productions, for they themselves have learned from us to manufacture them ; they yield us their own products on conditions that are becoming more and more onerous. Africa alone can secure our commercial future by opening up its immense markets to us, if we know how to make sure of them for ourselves and to satisfy the needs which we shall create in them. Africa alone will save us from the two great dangers which threaten us : First, the plethora which is the cause of our industries no longer knowing where to find an outlet for their productions; then, the inanition which results from a lack of regions to furnish us cheaply

with the raw materials and the exotic wares which our civilization can no longer do without.

"The new party in France, of which I spoke in a former letter—the party of young men with the Vicomte de Vogue and the new Academician, Professor Lavisse, at their head—is thoroughly possessed with these adventurous projects of French civilization in Africa. M. de Vogue, who is mainly responsible for Tolstoi-ism in Western Europe and for the Neo-Christian movement in France, has long had prophetic glimpses of the possibility of a renovation of French character through the struggle with African difficulties.

There is something in that last phrase, ladies and gentlemen, which in connection with the interests which have brought us together this evening, I think you will own with me to be profoundly suggestive. The able and patriotic Frenchmen of whom this writer speaks seeks to make Africa a school for developing and renovating French character through the struggle with the African difficulties. Ought not that to be largely the office of this Society in connection with the development, most of all, of *our own* African population? The problem of their future in this land, let him attempt to forecast who will; but meantime, in that other, which was once their own land, there is an opportunity for this race, and such as in all its history it has never had before. As French, or English, or Belgium, or German enterprises flock to those coasts, it must needs, in every instance, encounter those tremendous difficulties which have always faced and often beaten every alien race which has attempted to plant itself on those fever-haunted shores. From the beginning to the end of the attempt of any foreign people to colonize or civilize Africa, there will remain the insurmountable difficulties inseparable from its climate and all the deadly influences for which in Africa that word must always stand. But here is a race trained and nurtured among the conditions of our own American civilization which in this direction has absolutely nothing to fear. Here is a race which in so far as henceforth it shall carry with it the best fruits of that American civilization, will carry thither all and more than all that any, even the greatest European state, can give. And here to-day in the newly-

opened resources of Africa is an opportunity, which if only we can learn to use it, as it must be owned we have not used it heretofore, with a wise discrimination, will open to this Society one of the noblest fields for honorable distinction in the history of this Republic.

To build roads into that interior of which as yet we know so little, but of which all that we do know is so full of a wondrous promise; to send to Africa those, and for one I am disposed to say only those, who, whether as day laborers or skilled artizans or men of a still higher culture, can give to Africa and to Liberia something that they have not to-day; to foster schools, yes, but most of all to foster men and women who shall be fit to teach in them; to see to it that side by side with that commercial enterprise which is just awakening to its vast opportunities in Africa, there shall move the leavening influence of that force for good government and a better morality, and personal industry and trained powers which make a great State—this is to-day as never before the calling of this Society. It has new tasks to do. It must learn new methods with which to do them. It may have lost somewhat the confidence and somewhat more the interest which once attended upon it; but if it can not quite recover them, it can at least begin to deserve them by seeking so to use its resources and its opportunities as shall give African men and women who have noble aspirations the noblest sphere for them, and transform Africa by planting it with those who have themselves learned how to do worthy work with worthy tools. The day of indiscriminate colonization has long ago gone by. The motto of this Society needs henceforth to be *multum non multa:* in the matter of those whom it sends to the Liberian coasts, "*not quantity* but *quality.*" It is not enough to build colleges or to erect churches. In the one, and in the other there must be the voice of the living teacher, who has learned to lead and to quicken, to guide and to encourage in no mean or unworthy way. In a word, it is the force of a finer manhood for which Africa most of all waits to-day. Let us be willing, at any rate so far as we can command it, to give it to her. Amid all the

growing interest, and often feverish eagerness, to conquer these new wildernesses, let it be the office of this Society to seize its chance to bear to Africa men and women who are well equipped to lay foundations, to build a society, to win the ignorant, to open a path for the light and the truth, and so to make straight in the desert at least one more enduring highway for the King and the Kingdom that are to be!

THE REV. WILLIAM McLAIN, D. D.

When a complete history of the American Colonization Society and its great work shall have been written, one bright name on its pages will be that of its Financial Secretary and Treasurer, the Rev. Wm. McLain, D. D. He filled that office from 1840 to 1873—a period of thirty-three years of stirring times. Upon him was devolved the entire management of all the financial affairs of the Society, including the collecting and disbursing of large sums annually, the superintendence of all expeditions of colonists and emigrants, some of which carried out as many as three or four hundred persons, the purchasing of supplies for the voyage and for the period after arrival while the colonists were settling in their new homes and becoming acclimated, all of which important and perplexing duties he performed through that long period with marked ability and the utmost fidelity. Twenty years have passed since his death, but his memory is kept green in the hearts of the true friends of Liberia.

REMARKS OF PROF. O. F. COOK.

First of all Liberia is a most interesting country, notwithstanding a general belief to the contrary. There is a tradition at Sierra Leone that those who drink the water of a certain spring must return sooner or later. There is no such tradition in Liberia, but people return sometimes very unaccountably. Missionaries and traders who have lived there many years, go home thinking to spend the remainder of their days with relatives and friends. In a year or two, to the surprise of everybody, they are back in Africa, having said a last farewell to Europe or America. A friend who went with me remained but a month, and then took a long trip through Northern Africa, Spain, Italy, and other counries of Europe. He now declares that the time spent in Liberia was the most interesting of the whole journey. There is an indefinable, indescribable charm which one must go to Liberia to realize. It is like living another life, so different are all the conditions of existence.

In the imagination of a large proportion of the American public, Western Africa is pictured as an uninviting combination of deserts and swamps; a land so totally undesirable that the suggestion of the American Negro returning thither is spoken of by the most ugly word, "expatriation." There are deserts and swamps in Africa, as there are in North America, and larger ones—Africa being a larger continent—but to keep these things alone before the mind can only result in self-deception. And the desirable portion of Tropical Africa is not confined to the region of the great lakes. Liberia and the territory behind is a land of perennial verdure, undulating through its whole extent with hills and mountains, and drained by innumerable creeks and rivers of clear water flowing through valleys of extreme fertility and strange beauty.

"But how about the swamps?" The swamps, indeed, are there, a narrow fringe along the coast—too narrow to be considered in a general view of the country, but of almost fatal importance from the standpoint of Liberia's welfare.

It is folly for friends of Liberia to ignore the fact that the whole region of the tidal swamps is unhealthful, and will remain so as long as the tides turn back the rivers daily to flood the slimy lowlands of the coast. It is unhealthful to black men and white men alike. The supposed advantage of the Negro consists largely in the fact that a mere physical existence is maintained at the expense of intellectual development. I have no wish to represent this matter as any worse than it really is. Caucasians can and do live in this coast region in which all the Liberian settlements have thus far been made. There are now in Liberia white men and women who have been there fifteen, twenty, and even thirty years, and seem likely to live out the allotted time of man, but these are exceptional cases, and are recognized as such by the European residents and intelligent Negroes of the coast. I do not believe that a Caucasian of ordinary health and vitality need be subject to serious or immediate danger if he knows how to take proper care of himself, but there is no ground for doubt that extended residence, when this is found possible, means physical and intellectual deterioration.

Monrovia, on account of its elevated location and proximity to the ocean, is perhaps more healthful than the other settlements, with the possible exception of Arthington and Careysburg. But Monrovia is built on a hill of small area, isolated from the habitable portions of the country by several miles of rivers and Mangrove swamps, an arrangement of which the disadvantage is obvious.

That Liberia with her enormous difficulties of climate and location, and surrounded by the darkness of native savagery, has reached her present condition of progress is worthy of all admiration. If those who have the welfare of Liberia at heart will but resolve to take *all* the facts into consideration, they will be able to keep up their courage without feeling it necessary to close their eyes and ears to statements of her numerous needs and deficiencies. There has been a long and brave struggle against difficulties which a Caucasian can hardly comprehend, even on the spot. The achievement is insignificant enough, when com-

pared with more favored nations, but is sufficient to make a Liberian honestly proud of his country. There has been an astonishing amount of persistent endeavor in the face of the most overwhelming odds; qualities of soul have been displayed worthy of any race and any age.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended in Liberia, much of it to no purpose. Noble men and women have given their lives, frequently leaving no results apparent. The most eager friends of Liberia have sometimes, by their indiscriminate kindness, done her serious injury. To award praise or blame is an unsatisfactory and useless task. For our purpose it is sufficient to realize that the wisdom and the folly of the past have eventuated in the Liberia of the present. The opinion is general that the time is at hand for Liberia and the cause of colonization to begin a new development. Whatever the necessities of the past may have compelled, the opportunity of the present exists in the fact that there is a fertile, salubrious, and beautiful interior of Liberia waiting for occupation and settlement. If Liberia is to be the country for which her founders hoped, she can not be confined to a few isolated hills on the coast, and to the banks of the tidal creeks and rivers, where all the settlements have thus far been made.

My statement of these facts is usually met in conversation by the question: "Why has there been no attempt at the penetration and settlement of the interior? It seems very strange that any one would be contented with so dangerous and undesirable a location when better is at hand."

The idea of interior settlement is not new. In fact, it is as old as the idea of colonization itself. Liberians are naturally proud of the great possibilities of their country, and anxious to see the work of improvement going on. Sometimes, like some of their friends in America, they confuse the possibilities with the present realities.

The settlements at Arthington and Careysburg were founded with the direct intention of getting away from the swamps. The hope that these places would prove to be free from malaria proved vain. Indeed, it is not probable that any tropical country of low elevation is entirely

free from malaria. But in Liberia the sea breezes every day carry back over the land the exhalations of the tidal swamps, so that the real possibilities of the Liberian interior climate can not be realized within forty or fifty miles of the coast. The country is furthermore covered with dense forests which keep the atmosphere in a state of saturated humidity. The healthfulness of Liberia, like that of all recently-settled countries, is constantly improving. In the English and French colonies of the coast there has been an evident and constant improvement in the matter of health. At Sierra Leone, "The White Man's Grave," Europeans may now live years with very little or no fever. And Liberia is naturally the much more healthful country. Bathurst, the capital of British Gambia, is built on the sea level, with nothing but swamps for miles inland, and yet the health of the European colony is much better than twenty or even ten years ago. The introduction of a settled civilization has a direct effect on the question of health. I believe it is merely a matter of time and wider settlement when the interior of Liberia shall be as salubrious as *any* tropical country. Indeed, it is only fair to say that the tropical country is yet to be reported where the soil, drainage, rainfall, temperature, and other natural conditions are so favorable for health and easy settlement as the interior of Liberia.

"How comes it, then," you ask, "that the Liberian settlements have all been so near the coast?" The answer is easy: the only means of land transportation is by carrying on the backs of men. The rivers and creeks are not navigable more than twenty-five miles from the coast, and settlement has necessarily been confined to that area where water transportation is possible. It is manifestly absurd to expect any considerable or permanent expansion as long as men are the only carriers. Unless other means of transportation are introduced the interior will defy all attempts at settlement and civilization. The truth of this statement ought to appear as self-evident as any axiom of geometry. It should have the earliest and most careful attention of all friends of the cause.

While in Liberia I attempted the collection of data bearing upon the question whether beasts of burden will live and can be used. The results of this inquiry are stated in a report made to the New York State Colonization Society. Whatever may be the case in the tidal region it is absolutely certain that both cattle and horses *do* thrive in the interior, and that oxen at least can be used to advantage at the head of navigation of St. Paul's River, so that the question of possibility is answered with a most emphatic affirmative. I must here content myself with recommending to the careful consideration of all interested the more important and immediate practical question of initiating the enterprise by procuring the animals and building the roads and bridges necessary to their profitable use. The undertaking, while difficult, will prove, under proper management, entirely possible.

In close relation with these suggestions is a subject which I was most surprised and gratified to find under discussion on returning from Liberia—steam transportation. All the increase of Liberian trade has gone to England and Germany, for the simple reason that goods can be ordered from Europe and delivered in Liberia in two months or less, while it has usually taken double that time to get anything from the United States. If this disadvantage were removed American goods would have a preference. American brooms, for instance, are now shipped from New York to Hamburg and reshipped to Liberia. American meats, fruits, grain, and manufactured articles would have a considerable and increasing demand. To know whether an enterprise of this kind would be at once profitable as a commercial venture would require a careful study of Liberian commerce. If, however, the benefits to Liberia and the cause of colonization are considered, the matter takes on a more than commercial importance, becoming one for which all friendly interests should co-operate.

The European nations have apparently settled to their own satisfaction the question whether the west coast of Africa is worth being owned and occupied by Europeans. The French, Germans, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italians

have fitted out lines of steam vessels, and are spending millions in settling and improving territory inferior in every respect to Liberia. It is not reasonable to assume that all modern Europe has gone mad; on the contrary, the present colonial activity is in accordance with the belief, drawn from commercial and other considerations, that Africa is "a coming continent." Is this opportunity of American civilization and commerce to be lost?

PRESIDENTS OF LIBERIA.

Joseph Jenkins Roberts, 1848 to 1856.
Stephen Allen Benson, 1856 to 1864.
Daniel Dashiel Warner, 1864 to 1868.
James Spriggs Payne, 1868 to 1870.
Edward James Roye, 1870 to 1872.
Joseph Jenkins Roberts, 1872 to 1876.
James Spriggs Payne, 1876 to 1878.
Anthony Williams Gardner, 1878 to 1884.
Hilary Richard Wright Johnson, 1884 to 1892.
Joseph James Cheeseman, 1892 to ——.

On the 26th day of July, 1847, Liberia declared her independence and adopted a constitution which makes two years the term of office for the President. She has had eight Presidents, the first six of whom were immigrants from the United States, and the last two natives of Liberia. The first President was inaugurated January 3, 1848, and the present administration is the twenty-third. President Roberts was elected six times, President Benson and President Johnson each four times, President Gardner three times, President Warner and President Payne each twice, President Roye once, and President Cheeseman is now serving his first term. President Roye was deposed by impeachment October 26, 1871, and Vice-President James S. Smith assumed the Presidency and completed the term. President Gardner resigned on account of ill-health January 20, 1883, and Vice-President Alfred F. Russell assumed the Presidency and completed the term. President Roberts when first elected to the Presidency was 38 years old, President Benson 38, President Warner 48, President Payne 48, President Roye 54, President Gardner 57, President Johnson 46, and President Cheeseman 51.

ADDRESS OF THE REV. EZEKIEL E. SMITH, LATE U. S. MINISTER TO LIBERIA.

Liberia, the infant Negro Republic, the tropical offspring of America, is to-day the most interesting portion of all west Africa. Interesting because of its peculiar origin and humble birth; interesting because its colonists were without standing, amply scorned, condemned, and wronged; interesting because of its varied experiments; interesting because of the crucial test to which its citizens have been subjected in their efforts to demonstrate the capacity and capabilities of the Negro race for self-government; interesting because the world is looking at it as the source from which to derive the knowledge upon which it must rely in the solution of the weighty problem connected with the development of Africa and the civilizing of the hundreds of millions of the human race on that continent.

Impressed with the gravity of the experiment, of which the pioneer patriots of Liberia felt themselves to be the exponents, they began their labors with a purpose and a determination which never fail to succeed. They were sensible, too, of the further fact that they were men untrained and inexperienced in governmental affairs, and knowing that they were fully freed from the control and influence of alien races, they continued to work and to hope. They doubtless felt that they stood where they could see behind them the trials and struggles of the fathers; while ahead, they hoped for and expected the triumphs of youth.

They seemed fully impressed also with the additional fact that they had come to the new country to fight not only the vices and superstitious customs of their native brethren, not only the African fever and the reptiles and beasts of the country, but battling armies of whatever description that offered opposition to their successful solution of the weighty problem which they felt that God had imposed upon them.

What success have they achieved? Has the Negro in Liberia maintained the position he carried there with him? Has he made further progress developing along lines peculiar

to his race and environment? Is he spreading a new civilization among the adjacent aboriginal tribes, or is he lapsing hopelessly back into his original condition, to be absorbed into the dense masses of surrounding heathenism?

These are vital questions. They are asked in Europe as well as in the United States. The world is listening for an answer. Who will respond? Shall I?

Coming as I have from the sunny shores of equatorial Africa—from the "Lone Star of Liberia"—where I saw the Negro pure and simple, in his cultivated and uncultivated state, where all the Negro types of mental and physical development were observed, from the beclouded head of the devil-bush to the scholar and the statesman; from the most irregular and unsightly countenance to finely-chiseled and pleasing features; from the temple of devil-worship and the shrines of our ancestors to the most commodious brick and stone church edifices of modern architecture and commodious residences; where I mingled with Liberians in their social circles of culture and refinement; where I had the pleasure to sit in the courts of justice and listen to scholarly lawyers pleading with earnestness for their clients who were being tried before a learned and dignified court, and by a jury of their *peers;* where I beheld great skill displayed by able doctors; where I listened to exhaustive discussions and arguments of members of the two branches of the Legislature, and where I had the honor to meet and converse with His Excellency, the scholarly President of the Republic,—I am most favorably impressed by the political, social, and material progress that has been made by the Liberians along the lines of a well rounded-out and developed manhood.

It is to be regretted that there is not an easy and frequent mode of direct communication between the United States and Liberia. Steam has brought Europe and Liberia so near together that a fortnight serves to take a person from one to the other, while recently telegraphy has done more, and daily communications are exchanged between West Africa and the great business centers of Europe. Aside from commercial advantages, which must be acknowledged would be great, there is this other: Liberians could visit

our country and people more frequently, and these visits would be returned by our Negro citizens. From this reciprocal intercourse would spring up a better understanding and appreciation between the two branches of the same family. My knowledge of our people here and the acquaintance I have gained of Liberian sentiments lead me to the opinion that at present there exists a mutual misunderstanding; each misjudges the other. An ignorance on each side of the social and moral qualities of the other has produced almost an estrangement—all resulting from the want of constant social contact. I have heard opinions the most ludicrous expressed by Liberians respecting the Negro in this country, and I formerly held—in common with the rest of the colored people here—sentiments the most astonishing with reference to our transatlantic brethren. I have learned by observation that both are mistaken. Each must meet the other *at home* in the domestic circle, where, laying aside the stiffness of strangers, they may freely converse—seeing each other naturally and not in the disfigured form in which each appears when looking through the lens of prejudice or conceit at the other. I have had the pleasure of meeting Liberians at their homes, and if I have ever regarded them as a different order of human beings, if because they were inhabitants of the "Dark Continent" I have regarded them *darkly* or attached some mystery to the people of what I might have imagined to be a *shadowy* land, I am fully convinced of my mistake. Liberia is a *real* land and the inhabitants earnest people of purpose and determination. There the sun shines as bright as here, the sky is as clear, the verdure is as pleasing to the eye, the air as balmy, and in very deed—

> "Afric's sunny fountains
> Roll down their golden sands."

Her people have hearts as warm and homes as cheerful. I have there found true men and brethren. Do not misapply, ladies and gentlemen, what Heber, in his grand old missionary hymn, says—

> "The heathen in his blindness
> Bows down to wood and stone,"

for more than 18,000 persons in Liberia worship the true God as we do. They are surrounded by a much larger number of heathen (their and our native brethren), and for the sake of these benighted men and women they call upon us to aid them—

"to deliver
Their land from error's chain."

The principal native tribes of Liberia known to me are the Mandingoes, Veys, Kroos, Greboes, Golahs, Bassas, Carsahs, Bousies, King Boatswain, and Pessehs. Of all these the Mandingoes are the most numerous, most wealthy, and most intelligent. Being mostly Mohammedans, they have had the advantage of studying Arabic literature. Their language, customs, laws, and dress proclaim their superiority. Wherever found they are looked up to by the other native tribes, and highly respected by the Liberians. They own the cattle on a thousand hills, manufacture iron and cloth, operate gold digging, and keep large standing armies of mounted men. In stature they are tall, in complexion dark brown, and very commanding in appearance.

The Veys, less numerous than the Mandingoes, are, it is believed, an offshoot of them. The story runs that a Mandingo king of Masadu had a son who broke some law, which according to custom forfeited his life. His father dearly loved him and connived at the offense and effected the escape of his son and a number of his companions who found their way to the Tegyah country and settled, thus founding the Vey tribe. They are handsome and intelligent. They invented a written alphabet some years ago, which is now widely used for all the purposes of trade and correspondence, and a literature is rapidly growing up among them. Many of them are Mohammedans. They are the traders of all the native tribes and take readily to books and personal adornment, being quite tasteful. They are not warlike, yet make fair soldiers when under a good leader.

The Kroos, a large, industrious, and intelligent tribe, preserve more than any of the others their identity. Kroomen are natural sailors, and no vessel going to the west coast of Africa ignores them. But no matter to what quarter of the

globe they go, they carry with them in certain particulars the habits of home. The fact that they possess more of the home feeling and cling more closely to their clannish idiosyncracies than the other tribes, may be due to the fact that they have never been enslaved. Their skill at sea and thorough acquaintance with African waters made them useful to the old slavers who frequented the coast for human freight less than a century ago. In consequence they shrewdly secured to themselves an exemption from purchase and sale as slaves. The sign and silent password to distinguish them from members of the other tribes consisted in a tattoo upon the forehead. They are to-day a hardy, industrious, and independent spirited tribe. They are beginning to settle along the rivers of the country and spreading themselves interiorward, where they engage in trading and farming. They are well developed and possess great vitality and energy, but are not much given to wars and fighting.

The Greboes are found principally in Maryland County, in the vicinity of Cape Palmas. While they have among them some men of learning and piety, and from their tribe members of the legislature have at different times been elected and other officials of the State chosen, yet they are more contentious and rebellious than any of the other tribes; in fact, they are invincible in war, as the Government of Liberia can attest from experience. Many of them, like the Kroo people, are being incorporated into the body politic of the Republic. There are some intermarriages between them and prominent Liberians.

The Golahs are a powerful tribe, noted throughout the country for their warlike propensities and brave, fearless warriors. But their being divided into numerous sects renders them less formidable in war. They were the greatest enemies of the early colonists. They are stately, symmetrical and handsome.

The Bassas, who seem to be an offspring of the Kroos, are the domestics—the "hewers of wood and drawers of water"—not only for the Liberians, but also for the other tribes. They exercise very little will-power.

The Pessehs are a large tribe, and seem to take kindly to agriculture. They are especially fond of cattle-raising.

All these and other aboriginal tribes of Liberia are distinct in dialect and many of their tribal traits. They never intermarry and have no relations in common. To prevent their once almost constant inter-tribal contentions and wars has called forth at different times the utmost vigilance of the Liberian Government. But the authorities have, however, accomplished even more than this for their native brethren; they have greatly mollified the relations among them generally.

The natives of Liberia, with all their faults, are self-supporting, and taken as a whole possess many commendable traits, and from their civilization and development Liberia expects in the near future large accessions to her citizenship.

The Republic of Liberia occupies that portion of West Africa bordering on the Atlantic Ocean between the fourth and ninth parallels of north latitude. It has an area of about 95,000 square miles, and a population of about 1,250,000, all of the Negro race. Of these some 18,000 are Americo-Liberians and the remainder aboriginal inhabitants. The country is by no means the dreary waste of burning sand and miasmatic swamp that some imagine. But viewed from the ocean the low-lying coast land rises in a terraced slope, and hill succeeding hill may be seen, until the vision is lost in the unspeakable beauty and grandeur of the dense, perennial verdure of the primeval forest which covers the plateau far interiorwood. All kinds of soil are found in the country, and corresponding to this variety is a remarkably rich and varied flora. As in all equatorial regions, there are two seasons in the year, the wet and the dry. The rainy season begins about the middle of April, and is followed by a two weeks' dry spell in July, which is called the "Middle Dries." The dry season opens up after the middle of November. The average temperature of the rainy season is 72°, and that of the dry season 84°. Throughout the year the mercury never falls below 60°, and never rises above 92° in the shade. During the hottest months, from January to April, the heat is greatly mitigated by the constant breeze.

By drainage and other sanitary regulations the climate has been considerably improved, and the African fever is now less frequent in Liberia than anywhere else on the adjoining coasts. All tropical fruits and vegetables grow luxuriantly. The principal articles of export are a superior grade of coffee, palm-oil, ginger, caoutchouc, dye woods, arrow root, sugar, cocoa, hides, and ivory. The fertility of the soil renders possible the production of almost any crop. Deposits of different minerals are found in various sections of the country, but they are not worked to any extent. On the Mandingo plateau and other hills of the interior goats, sheep, and cattle are raised in abundance.

The Government of Liberia is modeled on that of the United States, and has the same tripartite divisions—executive, legislative, and judicial. The President is elected every two years, on the first Tuesday in May. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy ; makes treaties, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate, with whose advice he also appoints all public officers not otherwise provided for by law.

The legislature consists of a Senate composed of two members from each county, elected for a period of four years, and a House of Representatives holding office for two years, four members being apportioned to and elected from Montserado County, three from Bassa, three from Sinou, and three from Maryland County.

The judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court with original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors and consuls and where the Republic is a party, and appellate jurisdiction in all other cases and in the subordinate courts of the different counties. The President has a Cabinet consisting of a Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Postmaster-General, Attorney-General, and Secretary of the Interior.

Military service is obligatory on all male citizens between the ages of sixteen and fifty. Liberia is divided into four counties and these again are divided into townships. There are numerous towns and settlements scattered throughout

the country. Each county has its staff of justices of the peace scattered throughout the various townships.

A superintendent, representing the President, is the chief local executive officer in each county.

Montserado County, in which Monrovia, the capital, is located, is the leading agricultural county; in the other counties trade is the leading pursuit. More attention, however, is being paid to agriculture in each of the counties than in former years. Coffee has the lead and bids fair to rival Brazilian coffee in the markets of the world. I know of no State, no country of the present day with an origin like Liberia's and starting out as an independent Republic with surroundings and circumstances, similar to hers. Before requiring her citizens to reach a certain point in political and social attainments within a given time, one should be able to draw a comparison between her and some other State, or be familiar with the peculiar circumstances surrounding her at the outstart, as well as those which have accompanied her all the way and are hampering her now. The status of the little Negro Republic in Africa in the family of nations is in some points not unlike the status of the American Negro. Those know best the points of similarity who know the conditions and circumstances best, both of the one and of the other.

'Tis true Liberia has no macadamized turnpikes, no suspension bridges, no palace cars dashing along at the rate of sixty or more miles per hour, but is she to be ridiculed on that account, and that too by her own absent sons? How many of these or like conveniences did the United States enjoy just seventy years after the pilgrims arrived at Plymouth? How, then, can intelligent and thoughtful Negroes love so much the land where lie the bleaching bones of their fathers and neglect (to use a mild term) so much the land where their mothers, having their affectionate partners torn from them by cruel slave-hunters, have languished and died; the land where can be found the graves of many hundreds of disconsolate African mothers, who like Rachel would not be comforted, and had not the opportunity like Rizpah to spread their sack-cloth

upon the rock and watch the bleaching bones of their loved ones, to protect them from the birds of the air by day and the beasts of the field by night—dear ones who had perished in slavery and whose bones were bleaching on a foreign soil? Unnatural sons! The soil of Africa is consecrated to the woes of wretched men and women, the shrieks and cries of unhappy youth, the heart-blood and dying groans of unhappy thousands, hunted, kidnapped, chained, hand-cuffed, and torn away from their homes and native soil. To-day her sons disown, despise her; preferring the land of their bondage to that of their freedom; wandering over the wide world and preferring any land to the rich fields and forests, the mines of countless wealth, the gentle streams which Africa possesses.

I am interested in the welfare of my people in this country, and hence my message respecting our ancestral home. Having been home I love to speak of the old place to those who may never go there.

Liberia to-day is a fixed fact. Her government of her own choice, firm and stable, her agriculture, her commerce, her schools, her churches, scattered throughout the land, her charitable institutions, her happy relations with interior tribes, her foreign good understandings, all attest it. She has had her internal dissensions, her foreign complications, and financial embarrassments. She has been to all human appearance in imminent peril of her continued existence, but the hand of an unerring Providence has held her up and led her on and on, until to-day she stands a lone star, shedding her glimmering light amid the surrounding darkness. The future of the little Republic is full of promise. Its commerce is to be developed; its manufactures await the skill and science of the Negroes now being trained in the schools of this country; its agriculture is yet in its infancy, and the scientific agriculturalist will ere long tickle its fields and cause them to smile with plentiful crops of rice, corn, and cotton, as well as with ginger and coffee. The grandest and most unexpected results await the application of the sciences. As I have said before, the forests invite the chemist, the botanist, and skilled artificer in wood. The

streams are yet to afford to man the benefits of steam navigation. The earth is anxious to discover its secret treasures to the mineralogist and geologist, and to yield its untold wealth to the industrious miner. The biologist, ornithologist, and taxidermist have already entered the field open to them, and the birds, beasts, and reptiles of Liberia and West Africa are finding their places in the museums of the world. Prejudice against the American Colonization Society, and opposition to colonization efforts, when intelligently conducted, should cease. Argument respecting our right to occupy the American Continent in common with white men because the graves of our fathers are here, is sentiment; because the country is rich in development and resources and we wish to enjoy them, is selfish.

Soon, very soon, Liberia will be the only spot upon the vast continent of Africa that the Negro will be able to call his own. The squabbles of Boers and Bushmen, the rivalries of Cape Colony and Transvaal, fade into nothingness before the changes that are being rapidly effected in the main portion of Africa. Great Britain and Portugal pushing into the interior by way of the Zambezi, Germany progressing inward only a short distance further north and promising to intersect the English line of march, Italy further north yet comfortably established as a "protectorate" of the Abyssinian section, represent jointly the activity displayed on the east coast of Africa. On the west coast we have Belgium, Germany, and England advancing their outposts along the Congo and its branches, and already transforming the territory of tribes that had hardly a remote knowledge of the white races ten or fifteen years ago into important mercantile agencies with railroad and steamboat communications.

At the rate at which these Europeans are now progressing the lapse of only a few years more will witness the division among them of all Africa outside of Liberia. Already all but 4,500,000 of the 11,000,000 square miles the continent is estimated to contain has been appropriated by some European power, and of this remainder more than half is included in the arid wastes of the great

desert of Sahara. Will the civilized, educated, ambitious American Negro continue to remain silent and inactive until the last acre of African soil is appropriated by foreigners? No, it can not be possible. But when in coming years the causes which are now operating shall have ripened, the American Negro will desire to escape from his ark, but as far as his vision can reach he will discover nothing but the swollen flood of European immigration and in despair he will send forth over the waters a dove to find somewhere a resting-place. Liberia, now refused and despised, will then be the only place on the globe where the dove will find rest for his foot.

It is confessed that Liberia is the key to the interior of west Africa—confessed by shrewd British business men—and that key is in the hands of Negroes. They hold it for themselves and their brethren throughout the Americas and the islands of the sea. Time will vindicate the truths I have here declared, and which I sincerely hope you are prepared to accept.

CAPE PALMAS, LIBERIA.

Bishop Ferguson, of Cape Palmas, calls especial attention to the fact that the Cape Palmas tribe of Greboes has raised a sum of money to purchase Bibles to take the place of their fetiches, and remarks:

"Such a thing as a heathen tribe's giving up its gregees and taking instead the Bible as a token of its acceptance of the Christian religion, to be henceforth its rule and guide, has never taken place in this land before, and it speaks loudly in favor of our work." Comparing 1889 with 1892, he finds that the baptisms have increased from 470 to 702, the confirmations from 235 to 281, and the communicants from 645 to 896.—"*The Missionary Review*," *March, 1893.*

LIBERIA AS A STARTING POINT FOR CHRISTIANIZING AND CIVILIZING AFRICA.

It is conceded that Liberia occupies the most eligible portion of the west coast of Africa. It has some 600 miles of sea coast lying in front of the great river Niger, which, rising in the mountains at the north, sweeps around towards the east in a great circle, reaching a point 1,500 miles in a direct line from the coast, and then turning towards the south, empties into the Atlantic more than 1,500 miles to the east of Liberia. The territory of the little Republic extends back from the coast about 200 miles, but the settlements made by its colonists form only a narrow fringe, along the sea coast and on the margins of the creeks and banks of the rivers, from 15 to 25 miles in width. Between the present boundaries of Liberia and the Niger on the north and east, there is a vast region having a climate and natural resources unsurpassed in any other portion of the continent. It is now inhabited by native tribes, but is fast being shadowed by so-called European protectorates. If the experiment of self-government is successfully maintained by the little Republic of Liberia, all this immense domain awaits her coming to take possession.

From what other point in Africa is there so hopeful a prospect for the advancement of the Negro race in civilization and christianity? Here the foundations of an independent state are already laid, institutions of government, schools, and churches are established, the English language is spoken, and American ideas prevail. What starting point is there so favorable for christianizing and civilizing Africa? And how forcibly does this suggest a greater concentration of missionary enterprises in Liberia and on her frontiers, with the view of preparing the way for her future territorial advancement and that hastening her progress.

In an address delivered before the American Colonization Society in 1876, Commodore Shufeldt said:

"If you believe that christianity is to be the religion of the future in Africa, essential not only to her salvation but

to her temporal welfare, then I beg you to consider Liberia as an important bulwark against the encroachment of the followers of the prophet, and as a point from whence to start christian propagandism into the heart of Africa. Most of the foreign settlements on the coast are simply trading ports, and the duty of christianizing the country is lost sight of in the pursuit of gain. Liberia, on the other hand, is a christian community, established as such. Upon it and upon its friends devolves this positive mission—preaching the gospel to the heathen. It is our duty to assist her in this mission by every means in our power. Liberia is the initial point for American effort in the christianization of Africa." * * *

"I mean no disrespect to the people of Great Britain when I say that the British trader on the coast of Africa is among the most grasping and unscrupulous of men. He has succeeded the Frenchman, the Spaniard, and the Portugese, those reckless factors in the prosecution of the slave trade, and substituted a trade in rum, tobacco, and gunpowder, a trade not quite so baneful in its immediate results, but as pernicious as it dares to be in the logic of events. These articles the native is eager to buy, and the trader anxious to sell. Year by year the British Government, yielding to the demand of the British trader, has increased its possessions upon the coast, either by acquisition from the native kings or by purchase from foreign powers, until it owns 1,500 miles of the African shore."

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION OF LIBERIA.

President,
Hon. Joseph James Cheeseman.

Secretary of State,
Hon. G. W. Gibson.

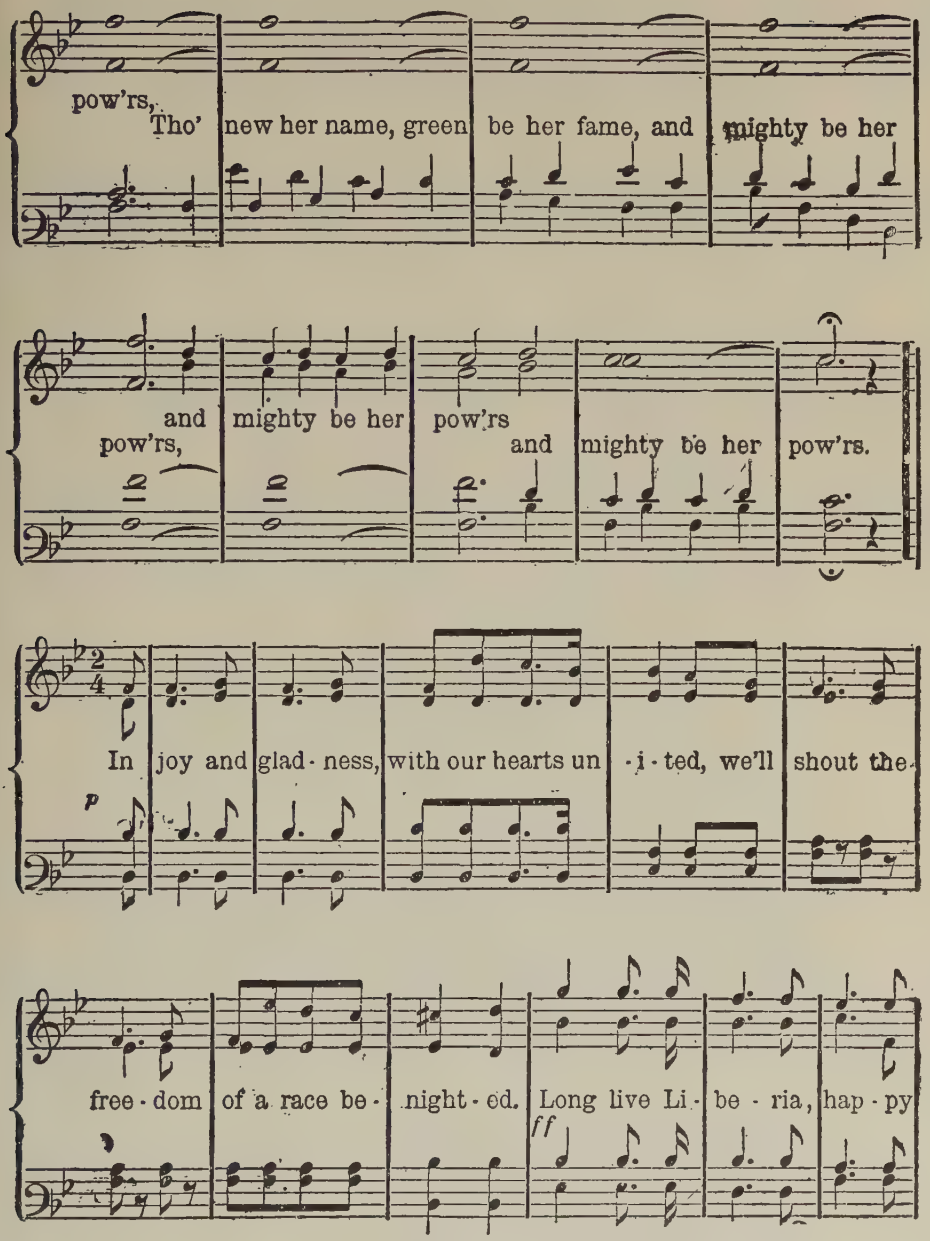
Secretary of the Treasury,
Hon. H. A. Williams.

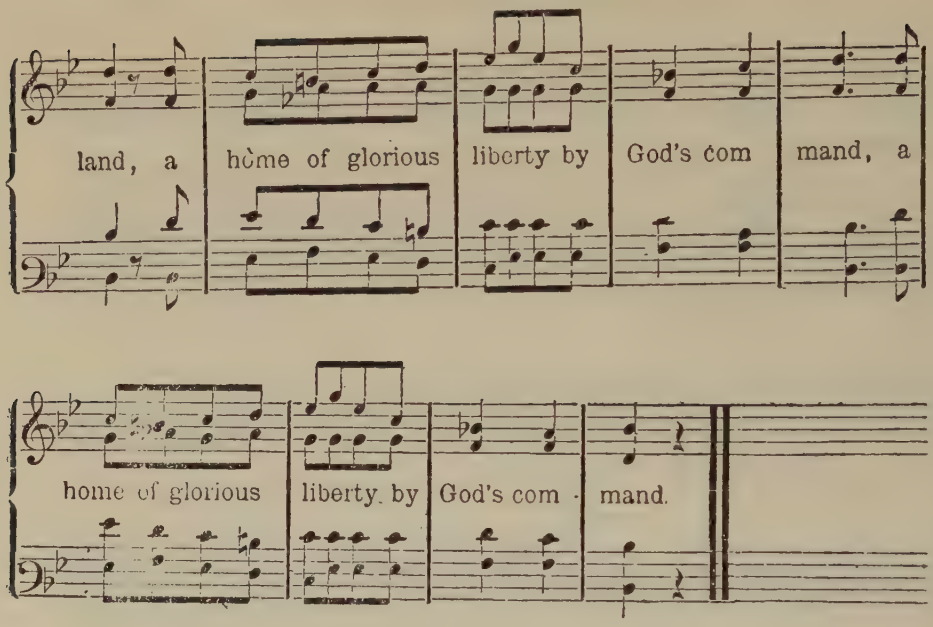
Postmaster-General,
Hon. H. A. Barclay.

Attorney-General,
Hon. H. W. Grimes.

THE NATIONAL HYMN OF LIBERIA.

Soprani ed Alti.
Olmstead Luca.
All hail, Li be ria, hail! All hail, Li - be - ria,
Tenori et Bassi. All hail, all
hail! This glorious land of li - ber - ty shall long be
hail, Li - be - ria, hail! This
ours. Tho' new her name, green be her fame, and mighty be her


pow'rs, Tho' new her name, green be her fame, and mighty be her
and mighty be her pow'rs
pow'rs, and mighty be her pow'rs.
In joy and glad - ness, with our hearts un - i - ted, we'll shout the
p
free - dom of a race be - night - ed. Long live Li - be - ria, hap - py
ff



All hail, Liberia, hail!
In union strong, success is sure;
We cannot fail.
With God above
Our rights to prove
We will the world assail.

With heart and hand our country's cause defending,
We'll meet the foe with valor unpretending.
Long live Liberia, happy land,
A home of glorious liberty by God's command.

CONSTITUTION OF LIBERIA.

ARTICLE I.

Declaration of Rights.

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquility their natural rights, and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.

Therefore we, the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Africa, acknowledging with devout gratitude the goodness of God in granting to us the blessings of the Christian religion, and political, religious, and civil liberty, do, in order to secure these blessings for ourselves and our posterity, and to establish justice, insure domestic peace, and promote the general welfare, hereby solemnly associate and constitute ourselves a free, sovereign, and independent State, by the name of the Republic of Liberia; and do ordain and establish this constitution for the government of the same.

SECTION 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural inherent and inalienable rights,—among which are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

SECT. 2. All power is inherent in the people: all free governments are instituted by their authority and for their benefit, and they have a right to alter and reform the same when their safety and happiness require it.

SECT. 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without obstruction or molestation from others. All persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and not obstructing others in their religious worship, are entitled to the protection of law in the free exercise of their own religion; and no sect of Christians shall have exclusive privileges or preference over any other sect, but all shall be alike tolerated; and no religious test whatever shall be required as a qualification for civil office, or the exercise of any civil right.

SECT. 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic; nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.

SECT. 5. The people have a right at all times, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct, their representatives, and to petition the government or any public functionaries for the redress of grievances.

SECT. 6. Every person injured shall have remedy therefor by due course of law. Justice shall be done without denial or delay; and in all cases not arising under martial law or upon impeachment, the parties shall have a right to a trial by jury, and to be heard in person or by counsel, or both.

SECT. 7. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime, except in cases of impeachment, cases arising in the army and navy, and petty offences, unless upon presentment by a grand jury; and every person criminally charged shall have a right to be seasonably furnished with a copy of the charge, to be confronted with the witnesses against

him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have a speedy, public, and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself; and no person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

SECT. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

SECT. 9. No place shall be searched nor person seized on a criminal charge or suspicion, unless upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause supported by oath or solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

SECT. 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted; nor shall the legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts, nor any law rendering any act punishable in any manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed.

SECT. 11. All elections shall be by ballot; and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.

SECT. 12. The people have a right to keep and to bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

SECT. 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

SECT. 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments, the legislative, executive, and judicial; and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others. This section is not to be construed to include Justices of the Peace.

SECT. 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State: it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Republic.

The press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SECT. 16. No subsidy, charge, impost, or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.

SECT. 17. Suits may be brought against the Republic in such manner and in such cases as the legislature may by law direct.

SECT. 18. No person can, in any case, be subjected to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains by virtue of that law (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service), but by the authority of the legislature.

SECT. 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right, at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government to cause their

public officers to return to private life, and fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments.

SECT. 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences when the proof is evident or presumption great; and the privilege and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus shall be enjoyed in this Republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious, and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

ARTICLE II.

Legislative Powers.

SECTION 1. The legislative power shall be vested in a Legislature of Liberia, and consist of two separate branches,—a House of Representatives and a Senate,—to be styled the Legislature of Liberia, each of which shall have a negative on the other; and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, "It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled."

SECT. 2. The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia as follows: The County of Montserado shall have four representatives, the County of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the County of Sinoe shall have one; and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted in the Republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years. The representatives shall be elected biennally, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.

SECT. 3. When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.

SECT. 4. The House of Representatives shall elect their own speaker and other officers. They shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. 5. The Senate shall consist of two members from Montserado County, two from Bassa County, two from Sinoe County, and two from each county which may be hereafter incorporated into this Republic. No person shall be a senator who shall not have resided three whole years immediately previous to his election in the Republic of Liberia, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county which he represents, and who does not own real estate of not less value than two hundred dollars in the county which he represents, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years. The senator for each county who shall have the highest number of votes shall retain his seat for four years; and the one who shall have the next highest number of votes, two years; and all who are afterwards elected to fill their seats shall remain in office four years.

SECT. 6 The Senate shall try all impeachments, the senators being first sworn or solemnly affirmed to try the same impartially, and according to law; and no person shall be convicted but by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present. Judgment in such cases shall not extend beyond removal from office, and disqualification to hold an office in the Republic; but the party may still be tried at law for the same offence.

When either the President or Vice-President is to be tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

SECT. 7. It shall be the duty of the Legislature, as soon as conveniently may be after the adoption of this constitution, and once at least in every ten years afterwards, to cause a true census to be taken of each town and county of the Republic of Liberia; and a representative shall be allowed every town having a population of ten thousand inhabitants; and, for every additional ten thousand in the counties after the first census, one representative shall be added to that county, until the number of representatives shall amount to thirty. Afterwards, one representative shall be added for every thirty thousand.

SECT. 8. Each branch of the legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business; but a less number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members. Each house may adopt its own rules of proceeding, enforce order, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.

SECT. 9. Neither house shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both houses shall sit in the same town.

SECT. 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the Legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval. If he approves, he shall sign it; if not, he shall return it to the Legislature with his objections; if the Legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two-thirds in each branch, it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such bill or resolution to the Legislature, with his objection, for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him—the Legislature remaining in session during that time—such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature

SECT. 11. The Senators and Representatives shall receive from the Republic a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from, the session of the Legislature.

ARTICLE III.

Executive Power.

SECTION 1. The Supreme Executive power shall be vested in a President who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He shall, in the recess of the legislature, have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defence of the Republic. He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission, all ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of state, of war, of the navy, and of the treasury, attorney-general, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, registers, notaries public, and all other officers of State, civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the constitution, or by standing laws. And, in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancy in those offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; he shall inform the Legislature, from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recom-

mend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences, except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer, touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Legislature, and may adjourn the two houses whenever they can not agree as to the time of adjournment.

SECT. 2. There shall be a Vice-President, who shall be elected in the same manner and for the same term as that of the President, and whose qualifications shall be the same. He shall be President of the Senate, and give the casting vote when the house is equally divided on any subject. And in case of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Legislature may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

SECT. 3. The Secretary of State shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the legislative body, and all other public records and documents not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same, when required, before the President or Legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.

SECT. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons who may by law be charged with the custody of the public moneys, shall, before he receive such moneys, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such moneys when required by the President or Legislature; and no moneys shall be drawn from the treasury but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.

SECT. 5. All ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, the Secretary of State, of War, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, the Attorney-General, and Postmaster-General, shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries public, shall hold their office for the term of two years from the date of their respective commissions, but may be removed from office within that time by the President, at his pleasure; and all other officers whose term of office may not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President.

SECT. 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office, by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by the President, upon the address of both branches of the Legislature stating the particular reasons for his removal.

SECT. 7. No person shall be eligible to the office of President who has not been a citizen of this Republic for at least five years, and shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years; and who shall not be possessed of unincumbered real estate, of not less value than six hundred dollars.

SECT. 8. The President shall at stated times receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected. And, before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Republic of Liberia, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution, and enforce the laws of the Republic of Liberia.

ARTICLE IV.

Judicial Department.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of this Republic shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such subordinate courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the Supreme Court, and all other judges of courts, shall hold their office during good behavior, but may be removed by the President on the address of two thirds of both houses for that purpose, or by impeachment and conviction thereon. The judges shall have salaries established by law, which may be increased, but not diminished during their continuance in office. They shall not receive any other perquisite or emoluments whatever, from parties or others on account of any duty required of them.

SECT. 2. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls, and those to which the Republic shall be a party. In all other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the legislature shall from time to time make.

ARTICLE V.

Miscellaneous Provisions.

SECTION 1. All laws now in force in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and not repugnant to this constitution, shall be in force as the laws of the Republic of Liberia until they shall be repealed by the Legislature.

SECT. 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the Republic, until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead pursuant to this Constitution.

SECT. 3. All towns and municipal corporations within this Republic, constituted under the laws of the Commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges; and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office and act under the authority of this Republic, in the same manner and with the like powers as they now possess under the laws of said Commonwealth.

SECT. 4. The first election of President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held on the first Tuesday in October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-seven, in the same manner as elections of members of the council are chosen in the Commonwealth of Liberia; and the votes shall be certified and returned to the Colonial Secretary; and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him as it is now by law provided in case of such members of council.

SECT. 5. All other elections of President, Vice-President, Senators, and Representatives, shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years, to be held and regulated in such manner as the Legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the Secretary of State, who shall open the same, and forthwith issue notice of the election to the persons apparently so elected Senators and Representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the Legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the

persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected Senators and Representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected shall proceed to organize themselves accordingly as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted, and declared by the House of Representatives; and, if no person shall appear to have a majority of such votes, the Senators and Representatives present shall in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest numbers of votes a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

SECT. 6. The Legislature shall assemble once at least in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

SECT. 7. Every legislator and other officer appointed under this constitution, shall, before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe a solemn oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of this Republic, and faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of such office. The presiding officer of the Senate shall administer such oath or affirmation to the President, in convention of both houses; and the President shall administer the same to the Vice-President, to the Senators, and to the Representatives in like manner. If the President is unable to attend, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court may administer the oath or affirmation to him at any place, and also to the Vice-President, Senators and Representatives in convention. Other officers may take such oath or affirmation before the President, Chief Justice, or any other person who may be designated by law.

SECT. 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the constitution or by law.

SECT. 9. Officers created by this constitution which the circumstances of the Republic do not require that they shall be filled, shall not be filled until the Legislature shall deem it necessary.

SECT. 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before or after marriage.

Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent; and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise, or otherwise.

SECT. 11. In all cases in which estates are insolvent, the widow shall be entitled to one-third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one-third of the personal estate, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her by devise or otherwise.

SECT. 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this Republic unless he be a citizen of the same. Neverthless, this article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, so long as the property or estate is applied to its legitimate purposes.

SECT. 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic.

SECT. 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen or citizens from the aborigines of this country, for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates in fee simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

SECT. 15. The improvement of the native tribes, and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry being a cherished object of this

government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same; and the legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes by the appropriation of money.

SECT. 16. The existing regulations of the American Colonization Society, in the Commonwealth, relative to emigrants, shall remain the same in the Republic, until regulated by compact between the Society and the Republic: nevertheless, the legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration; and it shall be among the first duties of the legislature to take measures to arrange the future relations between the American Colonization Society and this Republic.

SECT. 17. This Constitution may be altered whenever two-thirds of both branches of the legislature shall deem it necessary; in which case the alterations or amendments shall first be considered and approved by the legislature, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each branch, and afterwards by them submitted to the people, and adopted by two-thirds of all the electors at the next biennial meeting for the election of senators and representatives.